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tion on the plateau, and it may be said that from this point on, he almost entirely loses sight of his subject and incontinently wanders into frequent digressions, which though interesting, are not justified by the title of the book. In the part dealing with the territory of the Republic, the author shows how the policy of the Spanish Government to turn Mexico into a series of mining camps led to the concentration of the people and of the wealth and intellect of the country into a few widely separated cities, between which there was none but the worst conceivable means of communication. This isolation led to a comparative barbarism in the smaller cities, and above all as regards the rural populations furthest removed from the capital, to a low civilization, to an anarchical and irresponsible local government and to abuses of all sorts, while in republican times it induced revolution and disintegration, as was seen in the case of Texas. In the cities where population grew largely from natural increase, and from a fear of the insecure conditions prevailing in the country, the supply of labor became greater than the demand, wages fell, alimentation became poor, the standard of life was not raised, the population became degenerate, and the number of crimes rapidly increased. In a series of brilliant chapters Guerrero describes the classes of the city population, from which the criminals are largely recruited, comparing them with the other and non-criminal elements of the population. Another interesting portion of the book deals with the clash between the Roman Catholic Church and the spirit of skepticism, and the effect of this conflict upon the morals of the population.

The book is valuable as a series of brilliant but semi-independent essays rather than as a unified discussion of a single subject. The author possesses an admirable style, has great insight, and as a rule, good judgment, but the book suffers from being structureless and invertebrate.

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*Government or Human Evolution, Individualism and Collectivism.*

By EDMOND KELLY, M. A., F. G. S. Pp. xv, 608. Price, \$2.50.  
New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

The second volume of Mr. Kelly's work consistently follows out the methods and purposes of the first. The word "Government" in the title is not descriptive of the contents of the book, if the ordinary acceptance of that word be understood. However, it approaches nearer to a description of the contents of this volume than of the first, when allowance is made for the peculiar sense in which the word is used. Government covers "the whole field of human interference

with nature" (p. 8). It is necessary to recall that Mr. Kelly devoted a large part of his first volume to the thesis that Nature is cruel and generally stands in the way of man's progress, while the mind of man is not a part of nature and is engaged in incessant conflict with it (Cf. Vol. II, Bk. I, Ch. 2, Sec. 4). Government is thus taken to include the whole field of man's conflict with nature, whether in the thought of the isolated individual or in the family or in voluntary associations or in what are termed "governments" in ordinary language. The idea of compulsion is usually associated with government; nor does Mr. Kelly hesitate to recommend compulsory measures. But he nowhere attempts to draw a line between self-control and compulsion, nor does he even make any technical use of the technical definition he has assumed for the purpose of giving a definite title to his book. On the contrary, the method and style are essentially popular, and, with the exception of the peculiar definitions of "natural" and "just," words are used in their popular sense.

The second volume is intended to show that the course of history so far has resulted in little progress, that all of the apparent advances have been lost again, and that such will continue to be the fate of mankind so long as it acts in accordance with nature (pp. 69, 70, 92, 93, 151). The latter and by far the larger part of the volume is devoted to an indication of what the author considers to be the proper social and economic arrangements whereby man may triumph over nature and attain to justice. In a general way it must be said that a better plan than the author's may be read into his book, and that the mere appearance of a book dealing with the domination of mind over matter shows tendencies in the right direction. Those tendencies, however, are very different from what the author imagines them to be. He pictures to himself a static society. Like other socialists he has made little advance upon Sir Thomas More. What these volumes really prove, if they prove anything, is that progress lies rather in a more psychic direction, and that it is motion that we need rather than a fixed condition. But this is far from the author's thesis.

The way in which he has involved himself by his peculiar terminology of "natural" and "just" is highly interesting. Everything turns on the distinction between the natural and the non-natural or the mental, and with the exposition of this distinction the author feels that his work is finished. It is not necessary to show that there is any law of the action of the human mind. It is merely sufficient to show that the mind is capable of acting and of controlling. If once we grasp firmly this power of the mind, we shall cease to be selfish, and there is no necessity for any analysis of how the mind works.

The utmost approach to an analysis of this mental or human "evolution," which forms the sub-title of the volume, is found in the statement that the non-natural force is "strange" and "inexplicable" (p. 180), and that it consists of elementary selfishness, found in certain natural automata, like the tiger, and of elementary unselfishness, found in certain other natural automata, like ants and bees, and that these two forces, under guidance of a higher mind or inner consciousness known to students of hypnotism, are tending with progress toward a medium type or equilibrium (p. 190). No explanation or analysis of this second and controlling mind is offered.

The first division of the volume is largely taken up with a "history of individualism." By this is meant a succession of extremely racy and well-written essays on the course of history, with a special view to the influence of the Mohammedan and Christian religions. This is by far the most readable part of the book and presents a keen criticism from the author's point of view. Mr. Kelly is apparently a gentleman whose personal associations would hardly lead him to revolutionary propositions. There is nothing, however, in his habit of thought to save him from the extreme conclusions of socialists. We must ascribe the moderation which usually tempers the logical severity of his conclusions to early associations that have taught him that after all we live in a competitive world. He makes some very sane and temperate statements and gives some excellent partial analyses, *e. g.*, "For when ferocity discovered that its rights in the product of labor were respected, it tended by disuse to disappear; and when the servile automaton recognized that the more it labored, the more it enjoyed, there grew up in it a nascent selfishness which was to substitute for the unconscious altruism of the ant, the latter-day individualism of the working man. The struggle for life went on very much as before, but instead of tending toward opposite results in different races—toward ferocity in the carnivore and toward servility in the ant—it operated in the same species to diminish ferocity on the one hand and servility on the other; and to develop the social mind which conceives of society not as an end in itself to which the individual should be sacrificed, but as a means toward the development of the individual into a man and master of his fate" (p. 95).

Starting with the other members of the City Club of New York as a believer in *laissez faire*, the author was caused to right about face by contact with laboring men in the Good Government Clubs. The peculiarities of the socialistic mind are evident thus in action and in thought. The broad characteristics of socialistic thought are *statics* and *idealism*. Static thought naturally adopts the method of contrasts and ignores the method of continuities. The static process was at once in evidence

in the first volume. It is no less manifest in this volume. The keen criticism of past history does not relieve this volume from this imperfection. Dynamic thought is not destructive, it is essentially constructive; it explains a process of progress, it never describes an elysium. Static thought, on the contrary, jumps from a criticism of the past and of the supposedly static but really ever vanishing present, to a visualization of the opposite of the social facts criticised and condemned. Thus criticism raises up a contrasted ideal. Such visualization is necessarily weak, even when attempted by the philosopher equipped with the tools of dynamic thought; how much weaker it must be in the comparative absence of those tools, the two-thirds of Mr. Kelly's book that remain after the history of individualism, abundantly testify.

This portion of the book merely states, with some modifications due to what may be imagined to have been the author's advantages of early personal environment, the usual socialistic propositions for labor warrants, gradual absorption of monopolized industries, atrophy of bank organization, etc. In fact, he is in theory a communist and more than a communist, for the organic principles of distribution worked out with infinite pains by such objective philosophers as Alfred Marshall into a perfected system of analogy to equilibration, are wiped out as with a sponge.

The chief difference between the socialists and the economists consists in their definitions of "efficiency;" but Mr. Kelly will have nothing to do with efficiency at all, nor does he stop at the communistic conception that men are to be rewarded according to their needs. He goes further and claims that each person should receive the same income by physical standards. The argument in favor of this claim is that mental progress is assisted by favorable environment. Doubtless, as a general proposition, this is true; but it is also true that mental progress is under many and perhaps the majority of circumstances, retarded by an environment of carelessness and plenty. Of this complementary truth he takes no account. A little touch, showing how completely he neglects dynamic equilibria, is offered by his explanation of monasticism. Monks and nuns shut themselves up in order to escape from the evils of competition (p. 220). This doubtless was the reasoning of the church and he adopts it. In other words, collect a body of people of the same sex, shut them off from the world, give them plenty to eat, relieve them from care, and contrive, if you can, to get them to contemplate kindness and charity, and you will obtain as a result not only kindness, charity, and unselfishness, but progress and strong character! It must be said in justice to the consistency of Mr. Kelly, that the word "character" hardly appears

in his volumes. It is perfectly apparent that character is developed by competition and a moment's reflection will show that kindness and unselfishness can only flow from strong character. He does indeed say (p. 186), "It became inevitable, therefore, that those who had most power became masters of those who had most willingness; and as the faculty of power coupled with selfishness, inevitably goes to make up the lowest type of individualists, so the faculty of power coupled with unselfishness, goes to make up the highest type of socialist. We have thus within the same community, two kinds of social mind, one of which is by nature equipped to enslave the other." Of course, the unselfish ones are the many: "The docility and unselfishness of the many have delivered them over to the imperiousness and eagerness of the few" (p. 186). Statements of this sort are apt to correct themselves, and we find on page 188 that "the human environment by showering its blessings on the few rich has reduced the multitude to a condition of poverty which tends to promote neither a high standard of intelligence nor a high standard of morality." Can the multitude possess a low standard of morality and yet be unselfish? We are told (note 1, p. 225) that "selfishness" is used in the popular sense, not in any technical sense. The evolution of unselfishness backwards from the rich to the poor is rather hard to work out, as a theoretical proposition.

Turning to Mr. Kelly's economic ideas, we find that he considers that it is possible to regulate wages effectively (p. 107); that he considers the individual to be ground down by the "tyranny of the market" (p. 111 *et passim*); that competition lowers wages (p. 113); that liberty of contract leads to industrial slavery (p. 214) (this statement is made with reference to trade unions. Suppose trade unions raise wages?); that competition causes wars (p. 124); that it keeps prices and wages also down. The wage-earners, however, obtain no advantages from the low prices (p. 126). He thinks that competition causes partial overproduction, not clearly distinguished in this case, however, from total overproduction: in other words, he holds the socialistic theory of crises, that it is necessary for undertakers constantly to increase production in order to lower prices in order to escape competition (pp. 128, 129, 131, 149, 159). Further, the theory that workmen can change from occupations in which there is a falling demand to those in which there is an increasing demand, is untrue (p. 133); cheap foreign labor can undersell domestic labor (p. 136); the attainment of the altruistic or collectivist state is hindered by competition (pp. 155, 199), by militarism (p. 151), and by corruption, (p. 164).

What the author says on the subject of corruption is interesting and well worthy of attention. He lays special stress on the point that

"business interests make bad politics." It is doubtless this state of affairs in the city of New York that has thrown him clear over into ultra-communism as an ultimate ideal. He suggests that general education and enlightenment, accompanying his so-called collectivism, will cure corruption; but a more hopeful view of the case would be that education of the masses along the specific line of specialization of function is what is necessary in order to obtain civil service reform; and his elaborate collectivist machinery is nothing but straining at a camel in order to swallow the gnat of the merit system. Commercialism teaches selfishness (p. 195); in order to be free we must be economically free. Economic freedom, according to Mr. Kelly, consists in being sure of a living in return for four hours' work a day! Under the title "economic," the Standard Dictionary defines "economic freedom" as "a state in which one would not be obliged, in order to gain a livelihood, to do anything distasteful." Under this definition, is a man more likely to be free in Mr. Kelly's Collectivist Utopia or in wicked, competitive New York?

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*Die Proportionalwahl in der Schweiz; Geschichte, Darstellung und Kritik.* Von DR. EMIL KLÖTI. Pp. 480. Price, 6 marks. Berne: Schmid & Francke, 1901.

Switzerland, which is so often called the political laboratory of Europe, constantly puts the rest of the world under a debt of gratitude. The experiments which are going on in that compact little state may be studied profitably everywhere, and a democracy like our own can ill afford to close its eyes to the methods there being employed in the solution of great problems. No study in foreign government is likely to yield better returns to the investigator; and although the last few years have put us well forward in this work, we still have much to learn about the Swiss political system. The initiative and the referendum have claimed the attention of many students. Switzerland is pointed to by friends of proportional representation. The Swiss achievements in respect of this important reform are well set forth in the work under review. Dr. Klöti treats the subject with the greatest thoroughness and detail. He enters into each historical phase of the movement to introduce the reform in the various Swiss cantons. His minuteness, indeed, in this regard is so great that the book is made rather too ponderous for the foreign reader, and one yearns for a chapter somewhere which would bring the study into narrower compass. The work must for this reason have an interest that is in great